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A General Plan Is Essential

- Comment -

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the start of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and through the acute struggle between the two classes and the two lines, we have gained initial experience on how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the field of education. On the other hand, however, there have been exposed a number of "defects" in the work of middle and primary schools in recent years, in preparing students mentally, intellectually and technically for participation in industrial and farm production. A general plan is required in our effort to further learn from the advanced experience of the Chaoyang Agricultural College and to develop the educational revolution in depth.

The experiences of experimental primary schools and of the China "May 7" Middle School show that, in order to formulate a plan correctly, it is necessary first of all to seriously study the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, especially the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Facts show that no plan, unless it is based on Marxist guidance, can correctly reflect the past objective practice or correctly guide future revolutionary practice. Take the goal of training students for example. In "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" and other works, Lenin more than once stressed: "One can become a Communist only when he enriches his brain with all intellectual wealth created by mankind." To turn the school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to bring up successors to the revolutionary cause, we must make demands on and measure the students in the context of overall development in the moral, intellectual and physical aspects so that they may really become "laborers with socialist ideas and culture."

The experiences of experimental primary schools and of the China "May 7" Middle School also show that to draft a correct plan for the educational revolution it is necessary to seriously conduct investigation and study and sum up experience. This means that we must conscientiously analyze the past and present conditions of the educational revolution with a realistic and scientific attitude. Typical experiences should be gradually spread from a point to the whole area, and in this respect one-third of the work should be grasped first.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "At present, the main danger is empiricism." Empiricism is characterized by the neglect of theoretical study, of investigation and study, of the need to sum up experience, and of revolutionary mass criticism. Empiricists often repeat their mistakes, being unable to learn from their past errors. Therefore, in the course of drafting the plan for the educational revolution, we must seriously and successfully study Marxist theories, heighten our awareness, and reduce the degree of blindness. In the last analysis, we must affirm the achievements made, sum up experience gained, attach importance to practical results, and continue to forge ahead.

* * *

Program (Draft) of Educational Revolution for Experimental Primary Schools in Shanghai

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

General Principles

Both the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have caused profound changes in the features of experimental primary schools. However, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines has not come to an end. With a view to operating experimental primary schools genuinely as instruments for the dictatorship of the proletariat in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education, it will be necessary to deepen the educational revolution in a planned and systematic manner.

The basic task of primary education, according to the Party's basic line, is to educate children with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to organize students to take an active part in the three major revolutionary movements -- class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, in order that students can acquire from childhood a rough understanding of the basic views of Marxism, criticize the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, set up the idea of becoming an ordinary laborer, and "become a laborer with socialist consciousness and culture."

"Education must serve proletarian politics and be integrated with productive labor." We must persist in running schools with open doors, linking theory with reality and conducting teaching and learning in the manner of self-enlightenment. We must implement to the letter Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive, so that while in school, students will study not only literature but also industry, agriculture and military affairs as well as criticizing the bourgeoisie.

The Party's centralized leadership must be upheld. Under the Party's leadership, we must closely rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, give full scope to the political role of workers propaganda teams, strengthen and consolidate the worker-peasant-soldier lecturers groups, persevere in combining social, family and school education, intensify the work of uniting, educating and transforming existing teachers ranks so as to make the educational revolution a social revolution in the true sense of the word.

Primary schools are important positions in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie engage each other in a bitter fight to win over the youngsters; indeed, they constitute an extremely vital aspect of the proletarian dictatorship in the superstructure. All cadres, teachers and students must determinedly be loyal to the Party's educational undertaking in the struggle between the two classes and two lines and contribute their all to the training of successors to the revolutionary cause.

Ideo-political Education

Article I: All work of schools is geared to changing students' thinking in order to enable them to establish gradually and from childhood the proletarian world outlook.

While in school, students should, in conjunction with various political movements and the Party's central work, seriously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. In this regard, the different characteristics of various classes should be taken into consideration: for lower classes the main emphasis is to be placed on study of selected quotations, while for higher classes selected original works may be appropriately studied and selected quotations may be studied too. At the same time, revolutionary mass criticism should be launched in depth. Reactionary views of the revisionist educational line -- such as "one who excels in learning will become an official" and "intellectual education first" -- should be subject to constant and repeated criticism in conjunction with practical struggle.

Students should be organized on a regular basis to participate in class struggle activities in society.

Article II: Ideo-political education should be conducted in a way that takes the actual conditions of the children into account; it should be concrete and lively. For instance: Compare their childhood with that of their parents, write revolutionary children's songs, hold story-telling meetings, organize them for visits, etc. Students of higher classes may also be organized purposefully to conduct social investigations so as to learn from society.

We should uphold the principle of letting students educate themselves and encourage them to make use of such forms as big-character posters and big debates, to set up the class concept in practical struggle, acquire the ability to distinguish between right and wrong, and bravely promote the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide.

Teaching Work

Article III: Teaching work of schools must be guided by the Marxist theory of knowledge; it is necessary to persist in running schools with open doors, in the teaching method of self-enlightenment, and in following the mass line.

Various subjects should be taught systematically, purposefully and in an open-door manner. Not only must the practice of teaching in a closed classroom be opposed, but that of letting things run their natural course and formalism must be opposed.

In preparing lessons teachers should seriously study their subject material, understand the actual conditions of the students, and conduct research and prepare lessons with them.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's "ten major teaching methods," in giving lessons in the classrooms full advantage should be taken of the perceptual knowledge acquired by students in the course of learning in an open-door manner, so that from the typical to the general and from the concrete to the abstract, they may be enlightened to ponder over and analyze the problems before them. They should be allowed and encouraged to raise questions, express their views and hold discussions. The practice of having "officers teach men, men teach officers, and men teach men" should be promoted in order to create a lively situation in the classroom.

Article IV: An examination is aimed at testing students' ability to analyze and solve problems, at reviewing and consolidating the fruit of teaching. Examination subjects should be linked to reality and should be published in advance. During an examination students may refer to books and hold discussions. Forms of examination should be flexible and varied and an examination may be held on the spot. Evaluation of examination results should give prominence to democracy and the three-way combination of the leadership, teachers and students should be insisted upon. Students who have creative ideas about learning should be encouraged to put forward their ideas. An examination is to be held once every term.

Article V: Utmost importance should be attached to students' extracurricular reading, scientific and technical activities. Existing extracurricular activity groups on meteorology, making airplane models, fine arts, acupuncture, semi-conductor, electrical and mechanical work, and literature should be elevated on the basis of popularization so as to serve the three great revolutionary struggles.

Learning Industry, Agriculture and Military Affairs

Article VI: Learning industry, agriculture and military affairs aims at allowing students to get in touch with workers, peasants and soldiers in the early days of their childhood, to learn from the latter, to set up the idea of becoming an ordinary laborer, and to be promoters for restriction of bourgeois right.

Learning industry, agriculture and military affairs should be conducted in a manner suited to local conditions and on the principle of carrying out the activities in the vicinity of the school.

Time arrangement: Students of middle and lower classes should participate mainly in labor in workshops inside the school for two hours per week; students of higher classes should gather together twice every term to learn industry, carrying out their activities mainly in workshops inside the school for a week each time. Students should learn farming before and after spring plowing, three kinds of crash work and autumn harvesting, with the main stress on understanding the rural conditions and taking part in some farm labor of which they are capable. In learning military affairs students may make study visits to armed forces units and combine this with training.

In the course of "learning these three things," it will be necessary to step up education on ideology and safety and to oppose the practice of using students as normal laborers.

Literary, Sports and Hygienic Activities

Article VII: Since primary school students are in the period of physical and intellectual growth, it will be necessary to give full consideration to their work, study, recreation, sports and rest.

Subjects taught in school should be arranged in a way beneficial to the physical and mental health of students and no excessive burden should be placed on them.

Daily broadcasting physical exercises and other physical exercises should continue. Noon break should not be less than one hour.

Extracurricular literary and sports activities of a mass nature should be broadly developed. Sports teams and physical training units of schools and classes should be organized well, and a success should be made of seasonal single-event contests and annual sports meets. It is necessary to organize students to sing and write revolutionary songs and tell revolutionary stories in a big way, to make a success of revolutionary literary and art detachments and choruses and to hold regular literary and art festivals.

Article VIII: Education on common hygienic knowledge should be intensified among students, who should be helped to cultivate hygienic habits. Serious attention should be paid to protecting their eyesight and to improving the lighting equipment in the classroom. Guidance should be given them in taking an active part in popular patriotic health campaigns.

Red Little Soldiers Organization

Article IX: Red little soldiers are a mass organization of children. Under the leadership of the Party branch, we should give attention to fully developing their political role.

Red little soldiers should make demands on themselves according to the five criteria of successors, display the spirit of daring to think, to speak, to break through, to act and to make revolution, and unfold political activities with themselves as masters. Such activities should be held once a week.

The work of recruiting Red little soldiers should be discussed and decided upon mainly by the Red little soldiers themselves.

Instructors of Red little soldiers should follow the principle of placing the main emphasis on guidance and oppose the practice of doing the work for them. Red little soldiers should be helped to continuously raise their political level and work ability and to create conditions for activities.

Teachers and Leadership

Article X: "The problem of teaching reform is mainly the problem of teachers." Teachers should conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and, while participating in the three great revolutionary struggles and getting in touch with the worker and peasant masses, strive to transform their world outlook and contribute to the educational undertaking of the Party.

Teachers must place proletarian policies in command, delve into professional research, and strive to be both Red and expert, specializing in one thing and capable of doing many things.

Apart from joining students in learning industry, agriculture and military affairs, teachers should during summer vacation organize about two weeks of industrial and farm labor (with the exception of the old, the weak, the sick and the crippled).

Worker-peasant-soldier lecturers groups should continue to be consolidated and developed on the present basis.

Article XI: The Party branch should serve as fighting citadel of the school. Under its leadership, the political roles of the school's revolutionary committee, workers propaganda team, worker-peasant-soldier lecturers groups, the CYL and Red little soldiers should be brought into full play.

Three-Way Combination of School, Family and Neighborhood Organization

Article XII: Leading groups of three-way combinations should be set up and strengthened. Joint meetings of neighborhood cadres, parents and teachers should be held regularly to study and analyze the educational problems relevant to children. Schools should take the initiative to rally the revolutionary comrades of nearby factories and shops and in other trades to take an interest in the students' ideo-political education so as to turn the proletarian educational revolution into a great social revolution in every sense of the word.

* * *

Continue To Advance in the Direction of Operating School with an Open Door

- A talk on our school's plan for the educational revolution for the next several years

by

Party Branch of China "May 7" Middle School

(Hsüeh-hsi Yu P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

Of late, revolutionary teachers and students of our school have been seriously studying the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the advanced experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College, discussing and drafting our school's plan for the educational revolution for the next several years. In the course of discussion, all of them have reached a common understanding: For a school, as part of the superstructure, to serve the socialist economic base and proletarian politics, it must continue to advance in the direction of operating school with an open door.

Lenin said, "Schools should be instruments for the dictatorship of the proletariat." However, old schools before the great cultural revolution were, in fact, turning out year after year and group after group of bourgeois successors behind closed doors. Now that we have gone through the great cultural revolution, schools, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education, have undergone a series of profound changes. Operating school with open doors is one of the vital aspects. Run with open door, schools have forged close links with society, with students directly taking part in the practice of the three great revolutionary struggles, accepting education from workers, peasants and soldiers and rapidly raising their consciousness of class and line struggles. Meanwhile, the past situation in which the focus was placed on the classroom, teacher and books and in which theory was separated from reality was altered, while reform of curricula and teaching materials was promoted. Schools set up their own workshops and farms and other bases for operating school with open doors. They have extensively developed activities to learn industry, agriculture and military affairs, in addition to forming worker-peasant-soldier lecturers group with whom regular contacts are maintained. The leadership of the working class over schools has been forcefully strengthened and the transformation of existing teachers ranks promoted.

To adhere to the direction of operating school with open doors and to strive to bring up successors required by the proletariat, the most important thing is to give top priority to changing students' thinking in the course of operating school with open doors. The Party's educational policy requires that students should be "laborers with socialist consciousness and culture." This goal is determined by the Party's basic line for the whole of the historical period of socialism. Since

there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the three big differences and bourgeois right that reflects these differences, an important indication of the quality of our students is whether they have socialist consciousness and whether they can be promoters for the restriction of bourgeois right. This also is the political direction for operating school with open doors. Hence, for the next several years, we intend, on the one hand, to conduct systematically and well activities to learn industry, agriculture and military affairs and to regularly organize students to participate in the practical class struggle activities in society. For instance, we are prepared to make our classes join the neighborhood organizations, militia detachments and neighborhood cadres and masses in grasping class struggle in the neighborhood, so that the students may learn in practical struggle to correctly handle the two different types of contradictions. On the other hand, we are prepared to conduct the teaching of various subjects in an open-door manner, guiding the students from various aspects to make social investigations and learn from society. The topics of such investigations and study may be based on different subjects and actual local conditions, and ideological education may pervade every teaching link. At the same time, we will also have to grasp well the building of students theoretical contingents, with the school and classes each having a theoretical contingent and a group of instructors for theoretical studies. Throughout the middle school stage, students will be required to read all the four volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and a few principal Marxist-Leninist works. Persisting in this course for a few years will enable the students while in school to gradually master some basic views of Marxism, to set up the idea of becoming an ordinary laborer, particularly of taking the road to the countryside and becoming an ordinary peasant, so that they can really become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

To further implement the principle of linking theory with practice and to reform the content and method of teaching -- this is another vital aspect of operating school with open doors. Judging by students who graduated from our school several years ago, there are still many "defects," which reflect some contradictions and problems existing in the content and method of teaching. In sum, there are the following principal problems: First, the content of teaching material is in some respects divorced from the practice of the three great revolutions; second, progress of teaching is at an uneven pace or is restricted by such conditions that there are often conflicts between various subjects and between classes in relation to the content and time of teaching; third, on the question of holding short-course training classes, we now concentrate our efforts on the fourth-year classes of the middle school, but due to shortness of time and the heavy task involved, a student can only learn one specialized skill and this does not suit him to meet the needs of the developing situation. These contradictions which appear in the course of our advance will not be difficult to solve in practice if we analyze and study them seriously. The question rests with "overall planning and stronger leadership."

In regard to teaching material, we are prepared to conduct an overall analysis in light of the needs of the three great revolutionary struggles, the way in which students acquire their knowledge and the inner links of teaching material. For the content of teaching material, relative stability must be maintained while appropriate additions or reductions or adjustments should be made in accordance with actual needs. In particular, new experience created by the worker-peasant masses in the three great revolutionary struggles should be promptly incorporated into the relevant portions of the teaching material.

Teaching for every subject should be organized in accord with the law of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. Not only must the practice of teaching in a closed classroom be done away with, but the practice of acting blindly, letting things take their own natural course, and opening the door but not operating school must also be combated. In the course of concrete teaching in every term, teachers for the various subjects should appropriately determine what should be taught in the big classroom /in society/ and what should be taught in the small classroom /inside the school/. For instance, students of the first-year class can solve no problem if they study in the classroom alone the part on port machinery in the basic engineering subject; instead, they should go to the related units to learn on the spot. For some subjects, apart from studying in the big classroom, students must return to the small classroom to sum up and digest what they have learned so as to elevate their perceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge. For some subjects such as basic engineering and basic agriculture, students may be made to learn principally in the school's workshops and bases for learning industry and agriculture. In short, for various links of teaching with open door, scientific and rational arrangements should be worked out in accordance with the Marxist theory of knowledge before it will be possible to link theory with practice, overcome confusion and achieve the desired results of operating school with open doors.

In order to avoid overlapping and conflicts between various subjects in respect to time arrangement and to overcome the problem of uneven progress of teaching, it is necessary for various subjects and various classes to have overall planning and appropriate arrangements. Take the basic engineering course for example. Students of the first-year class should study with greater emphasis on simple measurements and the gear-drive of machinery, so that they may understand some basic knowledge of engineering. The part on gear-drive of pump and liquid pressure may be explained briefly, and the teaching of these will be emphasized in relation to water pumps and sprayers in the second-year class. Apart from taking this as the key point, students of the second-year class will at the same time take a general course on chemical engineering. Students of the third-year class, in studying electric machinery, electrical engineering, optics, and chemical engineering, should proceed from the actual requirements of industrial and farm production, put the emphasis on studying the part on electrical machinery and engineering, with two to three forums held for optics in connection with laser instruments. Students of the fourth-year class will study electronics. Even teaching for the same type of teaching

material should be conducted in conjunction with the specific task and typical products, and should not necessarily be confined to one angle or one product; it may indeed be carried out in the light of selected angles or different products of the same type.

In regard to holding short-course training classes, we also are prepared to start with the first-year class. Such classes may be held in ordinary times and also in relation to activities to learn industry and agriculture. They should be held according to plan and in a methodical manner. With respect to literary subjects, students may be concentrated twice for teaching on the basis of social investigations in the four years. With respect to physics, short-course training classes on machinery and pumps, bookkeeping in production teams, rural surveys, common computations for machine tools, medicine and health, cultivation of four major crops and organisms for farm use may be held in the course of the four years. Besides, there should be extracurricular scientific research activities of a mass nature. Scientific research groups for various subjects should be elevated on the basis of popularization and should persist in serving industrial and farm production. The basic engineering research groups should stress the study of the application of carbon dioxide, gas and laser. Medical and health groups should further develop their activities in regard to acupuncture, medicinal herbs and first-aid knowledge; besides making a success of the work of health check-up of the teachers and students of the entire school and the work of preventing and curing contagious diseases and myopia, they should also make a success of the work of preventing and curing common diseases for kindergartens along Yungchia Street, rendering active support to the cooperative medical stations in the neighborhood so that students may, while in school, learn more techniques to serve the workers and peasants.

To meet the needs of operating school with open door, the examination system must also be radically reformed. The quality of knowledge acquired by students should be tested mainly by their ability to use their knowledge to solve practical problems in the practice of the three great revolutions. For this reason, an examination should be held by proceeding from the needs of actual struggle, in relation to the actual conditions of students, and in accordance with the emphasis of teaching. Examinations may be held in different places and in the course of practice. For instance, in the case of production team bookkeeping in mathematics, students may be allowed to take part in one year-end financial settlements of production teams. Besides, the practice of having teachers and students jointly participate in an examination may be encouraged, whereby students may raise questions with the teachers and teachers and students may help and promote each other so as to gradually set up a new-type examination system.

Establishing a network of relatively fixed bases is an important guarantee for operating school with open door well and in a planned manner. Over the past years, with the support of the worker-peasant-soldier masses, we have begun to establish bases for learning industry, agriculture and military

affaires. There are at present eight such bases linked with units concerned, and some have a history of over six years. There are, in addition, such bases as workshops and farms established by the school. The practice of several years has proved that setting up a group of relatively fixed bases for operating with open door is conducive to planning for operating school with open door, to accumulating experience, and to making teachers and students accept education from workers, peasants and soldiers. For workers, peasants and soldiers operating in units where such bases are set up, they also can find it easy to grasp the characteristics of the teachers and students and give the latter education in the manner of shooting the right target.

Judging by present conditions, we feel that to make these bases relatively fixed, it is first of all necessary to consolidate them organizationally. It is essential to fully mobilize the masses, to actively win over the support of the workers, peasants and soldiers and to continue to develop and expand the bases for operating school with open door. In the next four years, we will further develop workshops run by the school and strive to complete two workshops focused on electrical engineering and metallurgical engineering before 1976 large enough to accommodate students of two classes and to carry out teaching on the spot. We will surely turn operating school with open door into a vigorous mass movement.

"The problem of teaching reform is mainly the problem of teachers." After the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius plus the practice of operating school with open door for the past years, the existing teachers ranks in our school have undergone profound changes in their features. However, following the rapid development of China's national economy, to make the educational revolution keep pace with the excellent situation on the industrial and agricultural fronts, we must also step up the transformation of the existing teachers ranks. Over the years, we have by separate stages and groups organized teachers to go to factories and rural areas to take part in productive labor, guiding them in joining struggle with the worker-peasant masses to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and to study the practical knowledge of industrial and agricultural production, and we have created conditions for them to accept political re-education and to carry out professional re-study. In the next several years, we will continue to grasp this work well. Besides, our school has at present 42 full-time or part-time lecturers of worker-peasant-soldier origin, and this year we intend to increase the number to 80 in order to preserve the numerical superiority of worker-peasant-soldier lecturers and to have them contribute more to the transformation of the existing teachers ranks. The Party branch should regularly commend those advanced teachers who work hard and score excellent results in the educational revolution, giving publicity to their advanced ideas and deeds. At regular intervals we should carry out activities to evaluate the work of the teachers with the participation of the worker-peasant-soldier masses and of revolutionary parents. Where teaching assignments are concerned, we will gradually change the situation in which work is divided too minutely among the teachers and teachers have too narrow a

scope of knowledge and lack the ability to do practical work. To this end, we require teachers, while leading their students to learn industry, agriculture and military affairs or in the course of holding short-course training classes, to change their world outlook and to make an effort to study a variety of skills for industrial and agricultural production, so that they can be specialized in one thing and capable of doing many others. The school should make use of holidays to hold various types of specialized short-course training classes in a systematic effort to organize teachers to learn various kinds of specialized knowledge. Teaching research groups for various subjects should set up a regular liaison system with factories and rural areas and should regularly dispatch small teaching reform detachments to conduct investigations in the practice of the three great revolutions. In this way, teachers will constantly acquaint themselves with the needs of industrial and agricultural production and will study the relevant knowledge of industrial and agricultural production in relation to their specialized studies.

Stepping up the building of leading squads is a decisive factor in making a success of operating school with open door in pursuance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education. To meet the needs of operating school with open door, since 1968 we have, under the Party branch's centralized leadership, established a school leadership system under joint control by factories, rural communes and neighborhood organizations. Apart from having the workers propaganda team sent by the Fourth Machinery Spare Parts Plant of Shanghai Cotton Mill participate in the leaderships at all levels in our school, we have hooked up with the Hsuhui Sanitary Control Station, the Yungchia neighborhood organization, the Tsaohsing people's commune of Shanghai hsien and an armed forces unit where students learn military affairs. From these organizations persons are invited to serve on the school's revolutionary committee. They regularly come to the school to attend conferences, to study political and ideological work for students and the work of teaching reform, and to help draw up plans and sum up and examine results. In ordinary times, in their own units they take the responsibility of supervising the students' activities to learn industry, agriculture and military affairs and the three-combination education work in the neighborhood. This leadership system and form of organization have played a significant role in operating school with open door; they have helped strengthen the direct leadership of the worker-peasant-soldier masses over the school and rally the vast numbers of workers and peasants to support, care for and participate in the educational revolution; they have helped to combine the school with the various forces of society in strengthening the education of students in the Party's basic line. In order to strengthen the building of the school's leading squads, in light of Chaoyang Agricultural College's advanced experience, members of the Party branch committee and the revolutionary committee will in the next four years go by turn to factories, rural areas or bases set up for operating school with open door in order to learn from the worker-peasant masses. In the light of specific circumstances, committee members from outside the school may also come to the school for short periods to find out more about the conditions of the school and grasp the laws of the educational revolution in order to be able to play their role in providing political leadership.

In this way, comrades in charge of education will get to know industrial and agricultural production and those in charge of production will get to know education, so that the economic base may be better served by the superstructure.

The above are our preliminary ideas for operating school with open door for the next several years. In conclusion, we would like to say something about the guiding thought for our plan. Chairman Mao has said: "The Party's line is the line for correct development. On the one hand, we must oppose outdated and conservative viewpoints; on the other, we must oppose hollow and unrealistically ambitious plans." For a plan to be workable in practice, it must correctly reflect the objective laws for the development of things. Conservative and utopian plans are wrong because they are born of separation of the subjective from the objective. Hence, it is our realization that only by making a serious analysis and summation of the past and present conditions of the proletarian educational revolution over the last eight years in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line can we on this basis draw up a more realistic plan. Of course, "Often, a correct idea can be accomplished only through many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, the process leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice." Whether our plan can wholly and correctly reflect the laws of the educational revolution will still have to be tested and it must be developed in the course of practice. This also is the second leap from the subjective to the objective in the theory of knowledge. In the process, we are bound to meet with new contradictions and struggle. However, the proletarian educational revolution itself is a process of continual transition from the realm of necessity to that of freedom. It is only when we seriously practice and continuously sum up experience and improve work under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education that we can, in the sphere of the proletarian education, gain greater freedom and win new victories in it.

* * *

Carry Forward the Communist Spirit, Implement Socialist Policies

by

Yüan Kuang-hsia (袁广夏), Secretary of Party Committee, Lihsin Ship Repairing Plant

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

Our shipyard repairs only sea-going vessels. With the rapid development of China's maritime transport undertaking, our task of repairing ships has also been on the increase over the years. Since the items for repair and workload in each case vary, disequilibrium between job assignments and labor power has often arisen. In order to complete repair jobs on schedule, the workers of some work sections have to increase their shifts, thus requiring compensatory leave or the issue of overtime allowance. For years the workers have been used to this practice, with a few haggling over things like compensatory leave and overtime pay. This has affected labor efficiency. In September 1973 when the workers throughout the shipyard proposed accomplishing the ship repair task ahead of schedule as greetings to the National Day festivities, 17 young workers of the Woodwork Section of the former No. 1 Repair Group formed a youth shock team. They put forward the slogan "fight an eight-hour shift battle and take part in obligatory labor without any thought of remuneration." In the past year the workers of this group have pressed ahead with vigor, constantly raising their production efficiency and overfulfilling plans month after month. There has been a corresponding drop in overtime shifts compared with the past, additional shifts being required only when production tasks are most urgent.

What prompts the workers to increase shifts of their own accord when production tasks become urgent? When we went deep to perform labor and conduct investigations, we realized that this was the inevitable result of the emancipated working class becoming the masters of society and in control of the lifeblood of the socialist economy. On the day the youth shock team was first formed, it was pouring and the shipyard was flooded knee-deep with tidal waters. The workers gathered on table tennis tables or tall stools to discuss animatedly ways of assuring the launching of the passenger-freighter "Worker-Peasant-Soldier No. 12" ahead of schedule on the eve of the National Day festivities. They unanimously agreed on three and a half hours of obligatory labor every day, with every member of the shock team reporting for work an hour and a half earlier and putting in two extra hours after closing time every day. They waived overtime allowance or compensatory leave. Even veteran workers of their own accord offered to help as the shock team's "staff officers" and "advisers." None of the shock force members was late or left their work early. This communist approach to labor serves as a relentless rebuff to the "narrow vision of cold haggling, an unwillingness to do more than a half hour's work or get less remuneration than others." Some of our comrades previously regarded doing extra shifts as being motivated by the overtime payment of 80 cents. They

were under the pernicious influence of the reactionary views spread by Confucius and Lin Piao, such as "the mind of the inferior man is filled with gain" and "material incentive is still essential." Lenin once spoke of communist labor as "a kind of labor undertaken for society without remuneration, labor performed not for the sake of fulfilling a certain obligation, not for the right of obtaining certain products, not according to legally prescribed fixed quotas, but voluntary labor, labor outside the fixed quotas, labor that expects no remuneration and without any conditions of remuneration." Only when we are armed with Marxist theory can we correctly recognize the communist approach to labor demonstrated by the worker masses.

Shouldn't we actively support and publicize the advanced things that have emerged from the worker masses? We viewed this in two different ways, mainly because we had the misgivings that doing so would run counter to the socialist principle of distribution. Chairman Mao in fact defined this as far back as the democratic revolution period. He said then, "At present we should undoubtedly spread communist ideology and intensify the study of Marxism-Leninism. Without this kind of publicity and study we shall not only fail to lead the Chinese revolution to the future stage of socialism but will be unable to guide the present democratic revolution to victory." Chairman Mao also said, "We should distinguish the publicity of the communist ideology and social system from the practice of the new democratic action program." This is also true of the present stage of socialist revolution. Our effort to step up publicity for and education in the communist ideology is not only of benefit to the creation of conditions for the gradual realization in the future of the communist principle of distribution according to need, but is also helpful to upholding Party policies and principles during the historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "China now practices the commodity system. The wage system is also unequal, such as the eight-grade wage system. This can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Under the socialist system it is inevitable that bourgeois right continues to exist in respect to distribution and exchange and this must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that in the prolonged process of the socialist revolution material and spiritual conditions may be gradually created toward the elimination of the three major differences. If "material incentive" is practiced for the sake of raising the activism of the workers doing the extra shifts by means of issuing overtime allowance, the result will inevitably be the use of bourgeois ideology to corrode the worker masses and thus widen the inequality brought by bourgeois right.

After our Party committee unified its thinking it organized all the cadres of the shipyard at or above the rank of production group leader to conduct study classes, including selected readings in Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings. This was accompanied by wide propagation of the advanced ideas and deeds of the workers of exemplary workshops and work groups, aimed at educating everybody to consciously become good promoters of socialist new things. The Party

committee of the shipyard likewise saw to it that socialist policies and principles for the present stage were put into practice. For instance, overtime pay was issued to those who were on extra shifts on festive occasions and compensatory leave granted to those on additional shifts on days the shipyard was closed. This resulted in carrying one step forward the communist ideology of the rank and file and inspired more and more people to approach their jobs with the revolutionary spirit. Many workers proudly issued the revolutionary slogan of working in concert and thinking with one mind despite the different nature of their jobs. Whereas previously the workers would take a rest and wait for new assignments as soon as their ship repair jobs were completed, they would now make use of the spare time to assist other repair teams. This gave rise to heart-warming scenes everywhere in which everybody was united in combat.

The full display of this communist spirit on the part of the rank and file requires the leadership to cherish this surge of enthusiasm so the revolutionary spirit displayed by the broad masses can be sustained. In the past this display of mass activism did not last long because we were not good at organizing and sustaining this surge of enthusiasm. In the case of some comrades who failed to get production tasks completed on time they would often resort to obligatory labor and extra shifts to cover up defects and problems found in enterprise management. The workers criticized us pointedly: "You only have the production viewpoint without having political considerations." In order to overcome this shortcoming it is imperative that revolution in the superstructure be undertaken and relations of production improved. Leading cadres at all levels must first of all persist in the participation of productive labor, conduct investigations and study, discover problems in good time and solve them. To reduce requests for extra shifts, preparations for various items of production should be made in advance. Above all signs of flagging in production plannning such as waiting for drawings and materials should be overcome as much and as far as possible. Where extra shifts and crash programs are necessary, generally overtime shifts should not exceed more than two hours at a time. In cases where longer overtime is required, rest periods for overtime workers should be arranged to care for their health and livelihood. Practice during this period enabled us to realize that the more the leadership cares for the masses, the greater the latter's enthusiasm for work results. We are determined to further study Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of theory. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, let us strive to carry forward the communist ideology, conscientiously implement socialist policies and make greater contributions to socialist revolution and construction.

* * *

Read On Being Poor

by

Shen I-chen (沈逸珍)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

Martyr Fang Chih-min (方志敏) wrote On Being Poor in 1935 in a Kuomintang jail. This short article impresses people by its simple and fine style of writing, its warm and sincere revolutionary sentiments. The comrades of the older generation who read it would recall with profound feelings bygone years of hard fighting while younger readers would receive an animated education in the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat. Whenever I read On Being Poor I always find it difficult to calm myself. To me in particular this short article of about a thousand words presents a long scroll of revolutionary history sparking with the blood of martyrs.

"I have engaged in revolutionary struggles for more than ten years. Throughout these long struggling years I have lived simply, never spending more than necessary. I have handled funds always in excess of millions of yuan but money raised for the revolution all goes to the revolutionary cause. In the views of the great men of the Kuomintang side this sounds like a miracle or an exaggeration, but exercising prudence and serving the public good without thought of self is characteristic of the good qualities of every Communist Party member. Therefore, if people ask me about my savings I can tell you about an amusing incident:

"On the day I was taken prisoner, a most unfortunate day indeed, two Kuomintang soldiers spotted me in the woods. Upon coming closer to identify me, they expected to strike it rich, such as finding in my possession a thousand or eight hundred pieces of silver dollars or things like gold bracelets and gold rings. To their surprise and fury they found nothing after a careful search, except a watch and a fountain pen. Bursting into rage, they suspected that I had hidden the money somewhere and was reluctant to produce it. One of them holding a home-made grenade began to pull the fuse and stepped forward as if he was going to fling the grenade. Staring at me fiercely, he yelled threateningly:

"'Hand over the money quickly, otherwise the blast will finish you off just like that!'

"'Humph, stop acting nasty! I don't really keep a single copper coin. You are wrong about getting rich quick out of me.' I said with a smile.

"'Whom are you fooling? Who believes a big official like you has no money!' The soldier who was holding the grenade was not convinced.

"'Not having any money is unbelievable. You must have put it aside somewhere. I am no bumpkin. You cannot fool me.' While saying this another soldier arched forward to make another careful search of my personal belongings in the hope of finding something.

"'Believe what I have just said and don't bestir yourselves! I cannot compare with Kuomintang officials who are loaded with money. I really don't have a single copper coin with me today. We don't make revolution for the sake of getting rich quick!' I explained to them once more.

"They stopped searching me after they were sure they couldn't get anything out of me. Near my place of hiding they groped around and made another search. To their utter disappointment they could find nothing at all. The soldier who was holding the grenade replaced the fuse. He then turned around to grab my watch and pen and told his partner they would share in the loot and divide the proceeds from the sale of the items between themselves. Eyeing me suspiciously and sizing me up several times, they waved me away.

"About my family property? Let me recall for a moment. I remember I do have some, but not much. I have turned over to my wife old suits I wore last summer as well as several pairs of mended cotton socks for safekeeping in the mountain ridge -- for fear of being seized by others in the event of a Kuomintang attack. These are my only personal belongings, ready to be used this summer. Wouldn't my reference to these 'family heirlooms' cause scorn among the rich?

"Being poor and leading a clean and simple life is exactly what enables us revolutionaries to surmount a host of difficulties!"

On Being Poor takes us back to the years marked by long and dark nightmares, when monsters and demons ran loose. To turn a dark China into one that shines with springtime radiance and to dismantle the walls of a living hell, revolutionary forerunners and martyrs struggled valiantly and displayed the noble revolutionary spirit. This spirit of uprightness which manifested itself in hardships and difficulties and in crucial moments calling for supreme sacrifice cannot but arouse our profound sentiments and keep us in ferment.

"We make revolution not for the sake of getting rich quick" -- words that came from Fang Chih-min in reply to the Kuomintang soldiers. They embody the true political colors of the revolutionary fighters of the proletariat. The life of Fang Chih-min was the life led by a martyr, poor, clean, simple. In more than ten years from his joining the revolution to giving up his life for the revolution, he "led a simple life, never spending more than necessary." As one of the founders of the Red 10th Army which operated in the Soviet area east of Kiangsi and north of Kiangsu, he was chairman of the area's military and administrative committee on the eve of his capture in January 1935. Despite the high-ranking post he held, he lived modestly and frugally. No wonder covetous Kuomintang soldiers found nothing on him after a long search except a

watch and a fountain pen. His only personal belongings consisted of several suits of old clothing and several pairs of mended cotton socks, items which reflected his family economic condition. Despite the large sums of money he had handled, often in terms of millions, he used the money, no matter how trifling, on the revolution. Fang Chih-min displayed nothing but the noble communist spirit. He joined the revolution neither for an official appointment nor for riches, having no desire to obtain personal gains out of the revolution. Even if he had filled a high position, wielded greater powers and handled more money, he remained spotless, clean, simple -- the mark of "poverty" of the revolutionary fighters of the proletariat.

When a Kuomintang soldier told Fang Chih-min "Whom are you fooling? Who believes a big official like you has no money!" he revealed the logic of the exploiting classes. In their view, officials holding power and the gun could extort and blackmail people as they please and feather their own nests as well. Wasn't the reactionary Kuomintang ruling clique made up of these robbers, bandits and corrupt officials? In the article A True Account of Life in a Jail, Comrade Fang Chih-min angrily exposed the despicable crimes of the Kuomintang reactionaries such as their graft and extortions, and abandoning themselves to prostitution and gambling. In those days the Kuomintang was synonymous with a popular catchword meaning a "party for fleecing the people," a fitting definition of the true features of that political group. Therefore, it wasn't surprising that no Kuomintang soldiers would believe that Fang Chih-min had no money with him at all. The dialogue between Fang Chih-min and the Kuomintang soldiers vividly reflects the basic difference between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, which distinguishes the proletariat from the landlord and bourgeois classes. Just as Marx and Engels once said: "All previous movements belonged to a few people and served their interests. The proletarian movement belongs to the vast majority, an independent movement that serves the interests of the vast majority."

The Kuomintang believed that hedonistic pleasures of life could shake the communist beliefs of the revolutionary fighters of the proletariat. In their jails words such as "enjoy yourself while you are still alive" were used to soften up the Communists. While sweet talk like this was effective in buying over certain spineless dogs, it proved to be of no avail in the case of the vast numbers of unyielding revolutionary fighters of the proletariat. Comrade Fang Chih-min denounced those renegades who had abandoned their own convictions and renounced their background of struggle, who did not hesitate to jump into filthy pools as swine and beasts, things from which even pigs and dogs would turn away. In a stirring voice he solemnly declared: "For the sake of class and national emancipation and for the success of Party undertakings, I couldn't care less about the magnificent mansions and would rather live in a dingy and humid thatched shed. I do not relish tasty European food and I would rather have corn and vegetable roots. I am not keen about comfortable beds with spring mattresses and I would rather live in humble dwellings fit for pigs and dogs. I don't care about leisure and would rather work 16 hours a day. I don't care

about riches and would rather stay poor. Having no fear of hunger, of cold, of danger and of difficulty, I can endure all sorts of humiliation, suffering, under all kinds of intolerable conditions. These can hardly shake my resolve; on the contrary, they strengthen my will." These words glitter with the sublime communist ideal. Disregarding money and material comforts and other physical inducements, he was altogether "willing" to endure the discomforts and hardships of life for the revolution. Whether or not one has this spirit of remaining "poor" all the time often serves as a touchstone for distinguishing genuine from sham revolutionaries. With this spirit, anyone could endure hardships in times of revolutionary wars or in times of peace. Without this spirit, some people in the years of fighting revolutionary wars could not withstand the temptations of material comforts and degenerate into renegades. These people in times of peace could also be hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and become newly engendered bourgeois elements. Cases like these in which people betray their revolutionary background when the revolution is winning victories are of common occurrence.

Some people may ask whether things recounted and reasons given in On Being Poor which was written 40 years ago are still applicable today. The answer is, in Fang Chih-min's words: "Being poor and leading a clean and simple life is exactly what enables us revolutionaries to surmount a host of difficulties!" We depend on the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle in defeating the enemy with the gun. Similarly, we have to depend on this revolutionary spirit in defeating the enemy without the gun. Both life and times have changed in the past 40 years. What Fang Chih-min concluded in Adorable China, his confident expectations of the fatherland's bright future, has already become throbbing reality. However, classes and class struggle still exist and we may confront a host of difficulties in socialist revolution and construction. Under the present historical conditions, the bourgeoisie attacking us use not loaded guns but sugar-coated bullets, exemplified by none other than the bourgeois right mentality and bourgeois style of life. Whoever forgets or discards the family heirloom of the proletariat, "being poor," will run the risk of being hit by the sugar-coated bullets at any time. For instance, when you think it is your turn to grab something from the victory of the revolution, when you regard merit as a commodity for exchanging material comforts, when you seek help from the Party and the people regarding material needs, when you haggle over honors and position and insist on being given special treatment, when you prefer enjoying the comforts of life to going through hardships once again, and when you are befuddled by worldly affections such as exchange by means of commodity and money, philistine adulation and flattery, the bourgeoisie will then beckon you. As long as you are mentally prepared to lead a life of "poverty," you will be able to resist bourgeois temptations and material inducements and the dominance of assorted ideas in favor of bourgeois right. Chairman Mao cited the case of revolutionary fighters not helping themselves with apples belonging to the ordinary people to educate us: "People should have some spirit, the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat being derived from here. Being poor is thus one aspect of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.

Countless martyrs bravely laid down their lives before us for the interests of the people, making those of us that are living feel sad whenever we think of them. Fang Chih-min's martyrdom 40 years ago was identified with mankind's noblest communist cause. His article On Being Poor has left us with the most precious spiritual wealth. This is no ordinary short article for it symbolizes the red banner and torch handed to us by the martyrs before us. Let us raise high the red banner and torch handed to us by the forerunners and advance bravely along the road of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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Correspondence on Bourgeois Right (Continued)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

III. Letter from Sang Mei to Kung Ch'ing

Little Kung:

How are you? I got your letter on Friday. In your letter, you raised the problem of equivalent commodity exchange. Well, we're having a real hot debate on this issue over here! Some people say: "Though we commercial workers deal in commodity exchange every day, we have never discovered any bourgeois rights!" Others ask: "Since the system of ownership of our country has been changed, and since commodity production is no longer the same as in the old society, how can it be that new bourgeois elements have emerged in commodity exchange?" Although I have learned a little about political economy, I'm afraid I can't explain the commodity system problem either. But recently, through study of Chairman Mao's instructions, I got a little more understanding of it. For your reference, I would like to tell you some of my shallow impressions.

Let me begin with an incident that happened last year. On the eve of National Day, our shop got a batch of high-beat watches for women, a new product with unique design which found good market among the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. As the supply of watches was limited, we couldn't satisfy all our customers. At that time, Little Li of our group also wanted to buy one. But when she mentioned this, many comrades in our group told her: "No! There's only a small supply of this kind of product. The workers, peasants and soldiers must be served first. Shop assistants mustn't 'take the back door' to the counter." Little Li, unconvinced, said: "What 'back door'?! If I pay the exact amount for the watch as the customers do, it's an equivalent exchange. What's wrong with that?" Old Ch'en, the master worker of our group, explained to her very patiently: "Of course you'll have to pay for the watch. But how can we ever serve the workers, peasants and soldiers in this way? How can we speak of having a proper channel for commodity circulation? Everyone for himself -- this is the way capitalists do business." Before Old Ch'en had a chance to go on, Old Wang, our group leader, interrupted: "'Opening the back door' is not only the capitalist style of doing business, it gives access to the bourgeoisie and those who dream of taking the capitalist road. Some guys make use of the law of supply and demand to open the 'back door' to speculative and profiteering activities in limited commodities."

The words of these two old master workers set me thinking afterward: True, indeed! Though commodity exchange is in principle 'equivalent exchange,' there is still first of all the problem of whom the means of production belongs to. In accordance with the Marxist theory, Lenin, when analyzing the economic basis of socialist society, pointed out: "'Bourgeois right' recognizes the means of production as

private property. Socialism converts them into public property." Our store is an enterprise owned by the whole people, and socialist public ownership decides that commodity production should satisfy the needs of the nation and the broad masses of the people. If the goods are first sold to shop assistants, then we will have a situation in which the shop assistants will keep the scarce products for themselves or for their relatives and friends or even start an illegal exchange of such goods. That would to a certain extent transform an enterprise of the whole people into one owned by a small group. Liu Shao-ch'i said that "those who sell thermos bottles may buy several more thermos bottles," and Lin Piao claimed that "opening the back door" was legal. Their object was to corrupt the minds of our staff and workers with the idea of bourgeois right so as to build up a social foundation for the restoration of capitalism. The Party branch secretary of our store, having studied Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory, said: "Our economy is socialist planned economy. Our policy is: 'Planning comes before pricing.' We will neither allow equal exchanges to go on without limit nor tolerate illegal exchange through the 'back door'." I feel he is right.

In our socialist society today, there exist two kinds of public ownership: socialist ownership by the whole people and the collective ownership by the working masses. Besides, there also exist some remnants of private ownership. Thus, we still have to practice the commodity system and exchange through money. But we must restrict, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the harmful effects of commodity production and money exchange, and never permit them to spread unchecked. Two days ago, when we returned to the store with goods purchased, Old Chang of the business department handed me a letter. It was from a youth working in a border area. He said that a certain kind of needle for sewing tents had run out of supply, and some speculators became very active getting it from distant places to make a huge profit. The youth urged us to do something quickly to satisfy their needs so as to smash the activities of the profiteers. After I read the letter, I started to leave. Old Chang caught my arm and asked where I was going. "To the factory to order goods," I replied. Old Chang laughed and said: "Don't you worry. We've already fixed the goods and in two days they will be shipped off." Then I asked: "Master Chang, this kind of needle is so easy to make. Why did supply run out?" "This has something to do with bourgeois right," he replied. "Production on the basis of socialist public ownership is arranged through unified state planning. But as there are two kinds of public ownership and the commodity system is still practiced, the law of commodity production, that is, the law of value, still operates. Plainly, this law of value can be described as 'big profit, big effort; small profit, small effort; no profit, no effort.'" Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their like 'put profit in command' and said the law of value was everything. Their aim was to free the law of value from restriction by the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that it could spread unbridled and socialist commodity production would be turned into capitalist commodity production. Some of our factory cadres who were not clear about theory were consciously or subconsciously swayed by 'profit comes first.' In my opinion, that is exactly what has

happened to that tent-needle factory. In the production of such needles, the value of output is low and the profit is small, but labor is intensive. That is why it doesn't want to make this kind of needle. Instead, it would rather go in for commodities with a higher output value, bigger profits and less labor cost. Hasn't it departed from the principle of satisfying the needs of the country and the people and from state planning?" This state of affairs has also occurred in other factories and industrial departments. We must help them correct the wrong tendency to "put profit in command" through education on ideological and political line. We must not allow such trends to develop unchecked. Of course, our socialist society does need to accumulate funds and make profits. But the role of the law of value must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor must profit be in command. Those who crave for "profit comes first" are obsessed by their lust for "profit." They do not take the proletariat and the socialist system seriously, and do not differ much from the capitalists of the old society. If an enterprise is controlled by such people, its nature of ownership would change. In fact, where "material incentives" prevail or "profit is in command," there are certain people or groups that may take advantage of the situation to turn large quantities of commodities and money into their private possession and become new bourgeois elements.

So much for now. It's been eight years since I left school and became a commercial worker. As I haven't learned enough about theory, I've suffered from a serious degree of blindness in my work. Chairman Mao tells us: "We must read more Marxist-Leninist works." This is very important to the reform of world outlook, to overcoming empiricism and criticizing revisionism. In order to get a better understanding of such problems as commodities, money and distribution according to work in socialist society, the comrades of the theoretical group of our store are exerting themselves to read more political economy. I've written a letter to Hsiao-ning, who is working in a bank, and asked her to tell us something about the problem of money. I'm sure she has a lot to say about this. Well, I await your reply!

Wishing you good health, good study and good work!

Sang Mei
March 1975

IV. Letter from Chang Hsiao-ning to Sang Mei

Little Sang:

How are you? I had intended to write to you about a week ago. I'm so glad to receive your letter today. You asked me to say something about the question of money. This encourages me. Though I work in a bank and deal with money matters every day, yet because I haven't learned enough about theory, there have been many practical problems which I cannot explain correctly on the theoretical plane. Recently, in studying

Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory and pondering over the question of money in socialist society, I have felt more and more deeply that getting clear about this question has a vital bearing on consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In socialist society, owing to the change in the system of ownership, the function of money has to differ from that of the capitalist society. But, viewed from another aspect, money today is still "an instrument to procure social wealth." That is to say, with money one can procure a certain kind of social product. Such circumstances will enable the new and old bourgeois elements to convert money into capital and exploit hired labor again. Before the Spring Festival this year, when we went to a credit cooperative in the suburbs to check its accounts, we discovered a case in which people inside and outside the cooperative colluded with each other in converting money into capital. An alien class element who had sneaked into the rank and file in a farm machinery plant in the hsien gathered a few persons to open an underground factory. In order to raise the funds for the factory, he curried favor with a cadre in the plant and a staff worker of the credit cooperative by inviting them to dinner and presenting them with gifts. In the name of the farm machinery plant, he borrowed 10,000 yuan from the credit cooperative and transferred it to the underground factory. The trio then made a secret agreement among themselves to share the profit afterward. As soon as this alien class element got the loan, he went about hiring labor and ordering raw materials. Fortunately, this was discovered in time and a loss to the socialist enterprise was averted.

Little Sang, just see how shocking this thing was! In the past, I had always believed that money in a socialist society was in the service of the proletariat, but I had never thought for a moment that it might be used by the bourgeoisie as a tool to restore capitalism. For the past few days, with this problem in mind, I studied Lenin's "Draft Program of the RCP (B)." It said: "In the early period of transition from capitalism to socialism, it is impossible to abolish money at once. For this reason, bourgeois elements among the inhabitants may continue to use money, which is still in private ownership and an instrument which entitles the exploiters to procure social wealth, to speculate, make a fortune, and plunder the laborers." These words were very close to my heart. Doesn't the current class struggle eloquently prove Lenin's brilliant thesis?

As we bank workers deal with money matters, the reality of class struggle obliges us to consciously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, restrict money exchange under the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthen the monetary management so as to make it better serve socialist construction. In order to close the loopholes in the flow of currency, we have adopted a series of restrictive measures. Take cash management for instance. It is stipulated that transactions between enterprises exceeding 30 yuan should all be settled through bank transfers. This is an important measure to prevent certain people from using money to make illegal deals. Recently, when our unit was studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in light of facts, we discussed the following incident: When a factory was preparing a site for a six-storey building, it needed two deep-well

pumps. But the construction unit didn't have this kind of pump and the engineering work was slowed down. At this point, someone said: "I've got an idea. But you must first let me buy some timber from the plant before I can borrow the pumps." But the state system does not allow factories to sell state-owned timber to private individuals, nor does it allow cash settlement. So, he tried every trick he could devise and finally found an employee of a credit cooperative and got him to issue a check for bank transfer. In this way, an illegal private transaction became a "business transaction" between two units. As the comrades of our unit who handled the deal said, if it were not for the workers who brought it to light, we would still have been in the dark! This is perhaps a manifestation of the struggle for and against restriction on the question of money control!

If money exchange in socialist society is not restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will become the hotbed for new bourgeois elements, the soil and condition giving rise to bourgeois style of life within the ranks of the proletariat and among government personnel. Isn't it true? Seriously poisoned by Lin Piao's doctrine that "everyone can make a fortune," some people have privately acquired considerable amounts of commodities and money in respect to distribution and exchange through legal and illegal means. Some even became so obsessed by their lust for money that they degenerated into new bourgeois elements. Also, there are some people who, having failed to reform their world outlook with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, are completely lost in the dazzling world of money exchange. Such cases show that class struggle in the economic sphere is very acute and is bound to be reflected in political life and in Party life as well.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, the history of class and line struggles has proved that if money exchange is not restricted under the proletarian dictatorship and if people like Lin Piao should come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. History is a mirror. In the Soviet Union, since Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like came to power, they began to say that "the rouble is the yardstick to measure the honor of labor" and "profit is the best evaluator of the work of Communists in charge of economic management." Such views make me recall Columbus' words quoted in "Capital": "With gold, even the soul can be sent up to heaven." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has turned the infinite "expansion of commodity and monetary relations" into an important tool for general restoration of capitalism. In the Soviet Union today, labor has become a commodity and money has become capital for exploiting workers. There are no other relations between people besides the cold and ruthless "cash payments." This is a profound lesson in the history of the international communist movement.

In our great socialist country, thanks to Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership and to the restriction placed on money exchange under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our currency is on the whole a unified yardstick for measuring social labor, an instrument for national economic planning and management, a bridge promoting the economic ties between workers and peasants, town and country, and

among state enterprises, and a certificate for allocation of articles of consumption. Nurtured by Mao Tsetung thought, new communist morals and styles have been increasingly displayed in our country. Sitting in the bank, I have come across countless cases of working people and Red little soldiers handing in money they had picked up on the road. At noon today, as I was working busily on the abacus, a girl in her twenties ran up to my counter. Still gasping, she said to me: "Comrade, yesterday I bought a 20-yuan savings certificate. When I went back home, I discovered it was a 40-yuan certificate. You must have made a mistake. I had intended to return it to you on my way to work this morning, but your bank had not opened. You people must have been quite worried!" As she spoke, Old Ma, who was sitting next to me, stood up suddenly and grasped her hand with great emotion. The previous night he had spent three whole hours trying to account for the lost twenty yuan. Seeing this, who wouldn't be moved? I couldn't help getting out from behind my counter. I held her hand tightly and asked her name and the name of her unit. She replied in a loud voice: "I'm a worker!" "Just a worker!" These words are still ringing in my ears. This noble spirit of the proletariat constitutes a great force in restricting bourgeois right. With the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will surely effectively restrict bourgeois right as manifested in money exchange under the proletarian dictatorship, and we will strive to create the conditions for eventual abolition of money. When that time comes, it will be as Lenin prophesied: "Gold will be used to build public lavatories in the streets of the several largest cities of the world."

It is getting late, and I'll have to attend a study experience exchange meeting tomorrow. I must stop here.

With revolutionary salutations!

Hsiao-ning
March 1975

* * *

Thoughts on Reading the Book Review in the Soviet Revisionist "Pravda"

by

Li Hai-sheng (李海生) and Wang Ping-sen (王秉森)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

Of late, some Soviet revisionist books, periodicals and papers have been energetically propagating the theory that "the Soviet Union is a developed socialist country." A Kasiyaninko (卡西杨年科) wrote a book entitled "The Soviet Communist -- Organizer of Building Developed Socialism." In response, the Soviet revisionist "Pravda" carried a book review on it. The review said: "It is on this period of building a developed socialist society that the author focuses his attention," "much space is devoted to the efforts made by the Soviet Communist Party to perfect socialist relations," etc. How nice it sounds!

But a French magazine called "Economy" does not see things that way, pointing out straightforwardly that the Soviet Union is faced with the prospect of inflation: the price of "Volga" sedans has risen by 65 percent in recent years, that of vodka from 3.12 roubles to 4.12 roubles, cheap meat has almost disappeared from state stores.... Inflation in the Soviet Union is a scourge to the people. It is indeed a disgrace to the "developed" /country/ that Kasiyaninko and his like have tried so hard to advertise.

But then again, while they are trying energetically to depict the Soviet Union as "a developed socialist country," the Soviet revisionists have indeed increased their financial revenues every year. Is it because their industry is especially "developed"? No! The annual average growth rate of their entire industrial production has been steadily on the decline, showing a drop of one-third in the Eighth "Five-Year Plan" put into force after Brezhnev rose to power, compared with the previous two five-year plans. Is it because of some agricultural miracles? No, either! In the ten years since Brezhnev took office, farm output has dropped in six years and they have had to scramble for large quantities of grain from the international market. What is the reason then? The answer is that the Soviet revisionists are good international firearms merchants and oil speculators. They sell at a high price immense quantities of weapons to the Arab countries and then buy oil from them at a low price and re-sell it for a huge profit. According to estimates published in the Western press, since 1973, the Soviet revisionists have made over 3.7 billion US dollars profit from re-selling oil. Particularly in that so-called "big community," they have ruled that the goods it sells to them should be priced lower than the world market price. There is a joke spread among the Polish people. Someone asks: Who is building socialism in Poland? Reply: The Polish people themselves. Then he asks again: Who is building communism in the Soviet Union? Answer: The socialist community is helping to build it. This reveals that the Soviet Union as a "developed" country is supported by the "big community" and by international profiteering, aggression and plunder.

By the so-called "developed" it really means that the purse of the Soviet revisionist clique is growing bigger and bigger with each passing day. However, the living standard of the working people is falling steadily. As revealed in the Soviet press, during the 15 months of his tenure of office, the Director of the Second Non-Ferrous Metals Bureau of the Armenian Republic wilfully laid off scores of staff workers, because "they did not work in the way he liked," "they were not his relatives," "his maternal grand-son wants this job," etc. In the Soviet Union, the broad masses of the working people have been reduced to employed slaves deprived of the means of production, a sharp contrast with a small handful of new-type bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union who are leading a decadent and lavish life.

However, it is possible for the Soviet Union to develop into a genuinely developed socialist state, but that has to wait until after the Soviet people have risen up and overthrown the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. The great Soviet people will certainly fulfill this historical task. I have no doubt about this.

* * *

Things Recalled from "Coordinating Sector"

- Some impressions after seeing "Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze"

by

Tu Hsün-ch'eng (杜恂诚)
worker, Shanghai Condiments Plant

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16, 1975)

One of the scenes depicted in the film "Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze" is about the disruption of contact with the PLA command operating north of the Yangtze River after a shell has put the radio transmitter of a PLA scout squad out of order. To assure the successful crossing of our mighty army, a million strong, of the great river, it is necessary to get vital information to the PLA command on the opposite bank of the river. With this scout squad surrounded by the enemy and patrols along the bank of the river strengthened, the question before the PLA scouts is one of slipping through enemy patrols both on the river and on land. Company leader Li Ch'un-lin wisely and unhesitantly chooses the demarcation for two enemy divisions, a "coordinating sector" which uses lamp posts to distinguish one enemy unit, the 66th Division, from another, the 68th Division. Thus the two divisions are deployed in the same area but with separate responsibilities, relieving both of the commitment of defending the position of the "coordinating sector." In these circumstances the daring PLA scouts are able to spot the enemy's vulnerability by taking advantage of the contradiction that has developed within the enemy ranks. After slipping into the enemy's rear and completing their mission, Wu Lao-kuei and Hsiao Ma return to the north side of the river.

This vivid episode helps in recalling to mind numerous moving deeds that have taken place in actual daily life.

Sometime ago we visited the huge construction site of the Chinshan Petrochemical Works. There we found another type of "coordinating sector," one that was just the opposite to that described in "Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze." The Chinshan project included the building of a rail line scores of kilometers long, the laying of the roadbed having been assigned, section by section, to 50,000 laborers of nearly 20 communes. Thus the "coordinating sector," of several meters in length, became closely identified with the communes and production brigades. In the course of making routine quality control checks, it was found that roadbed of the "coordinating sector" was laid particularly solid. The reason was the laborers of various work sections made a point of regarding the several meters of the "coordinating sector" as their own responsibility, with the result that the roadbed of this stretch was made particularly rigid. Inspired by the socialist spirit of extensive cooperation, the laborers proudly called the "coordinating sector" a "coordinated effort" worthy of the name.

The strong contrast between two different types of "coordinating sectors" provided us with a profound source of inspiration.

At first glance, the particular scene unfolded in "Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze" appears to be something accidental. After carefully pondering it over, it embodies something inevitable, that truthfully reflects the objective law governing the enemy army's internal relations. The reactionary Kuomintang army represented a most reactionary and decadent class, a class that was then on the verge of collapse, with internal dissension and strife, machinations and counter-machinations pervading its ranks. Whether it was the 66th Division or the 68th Division, information or intelligence departments, all were big and small independent kingdoms, dominated by big and small chieftains or "local emperors." Where merit came into the picture they would come forward to "grab the ball" and when no merit was at stake they would "play soccer." In the film "Fighting North and South,"* the two enemy army commanders regarded themselves as the center, with one shouting at the top of his voice "Come to my side" and the other replying not without a sense of trepidation "Follow me and fight your way out." Despite their calculating minds, both ended up in their own destruction.

Looking back at the history of China's revolutionary wars, why is it that a red regime could have come into being and existed in a country surrounded and besieged by white regimes? One of the reasons was the "imperialist policy of dividing spheres of influence, of dissension and exploitation" had brought about protracted dissension and wars among the white regimes. The feudal holdings of the rival warlords and protracted fighting among themselves at that time made their "coordinating sectors" the most vulnerable areas of the reactionary rule of the landlord-comprador classes. This enabled the red regime to be set up in these areas and to develop and attain growth. The collusion among all reactionary and decadent classes, including US imperialism and social imperialism, is invariably relative, temporary; while their contention is always absolute, permanent. On the other hand, all reactionary and exploiting classes are rooted in the system of private ownership. Their world outlook in the long run is summed up in the words of Hatoyama of "The Red Lantern" -- "for me." Therefore, the various groups within their ranks are hostile to each other, like "roosters showing their eyeballs" and "ready to pounce upon and devour each other." This is their class character, the inevitable result of all social systems based on the system of private ownership.

In sharp contrast with the reactionary and exploiting classes and their decadent social systems is the proltariat, the masses of the people and the socialist system. The moving deeds that occurred on the Chinshan construction site is but one of the innumerable instances that have taken place in the new China in the wake of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. This reflects a completely new type of human relationship, a new kind of relations of production, under the socialist system and within the ranks of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the broad masses of the people. The flourishing "Dragon River style of work," practically on

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* Also known as "From Victory to Victory"

everybody's lips, is the embodiment of the socialist new relations of production. In our times, where there is the "coordinating sector" there is the "Dragon River style of work." Just as the model revolutionary stage production "Ode to the Dragon River" depicts, where there are poor and lower-middle peasants and cropland of the people's communes, there is the vision of a class as an entity in itself. In the interest of the revolution as a whole and for the sake of preserving the "sum total" of socialism, each part may bear the greatest sacrifice. Some people call this style of work "foolhardiness." The workers of the Shanghai Soldering Workshop said proudly: We are happy to take needless risks for the revolution. Let the old notions of the exploiting classes, such as "sweeping away the snow in front of one's own doorstep and disregarding the frost on other people's roofs," go to hell. What characterizes the mental outlook of the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants of our times is the spirit of "sharing a shoulder pole" and "dedicating oneself to making revolution." Haven't we noticed that people "without proper occupations" have now appeared everywhere? Doctors have engrossed themselves with research on therapeutical instruments, bulb manufacturers busying themselves with turning out television sets, master-workmen becoming spare-time teachers, and even patients offering to experiment with and repair medical equipment and therapeutical instruments -- thus reversing the roles of hospitals and their patients. Some people called them "meddlesome." They retorted they could do better than that, meaning they could even outdo themselves in this regard. What a fine and noble attitude, the very conscious attitude of being the masters of their own house. "This fact signals that the socialist economic revolution (in that portion of the relations of production that has not been completely transformed), the political revolution, ideological revolution, technical revolution and cultural revolution in our country are now forging ahead."

The great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is sweeping away all the concepts of the exploiting classes that are rooted in the system of private ownership. It takes time of course to sweep away this garbage. All reactionary classes and their decadent concepts will not of their own accord withdraw from the stage of history for the ghost of Confucius will try at all times to resuscitate itself to contaminate our revolutionary air. Within our revolutionary ranks, Li Chih-t'ien-type departmentalism and the small group mentality would occasionally rear their heads. But the new socialist relations of production after all will shine with the radiance of the morning sun rising in the east. Just as the declining Chiang family dynasty failed to stop our mighty army, a million strong, from crossing the Yangtze River, all of the old superstructure and its decadent ideology after all will be uprooted. Whoever doubts this will find an answer from the advance in big strides of the socialist revolution.

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On the Historical Contributions of the Great Peasant Uprising Led by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang

by

Liang Hsiao (梁效)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1975)

In 209 B.C. erupted the first great peasant war in the history of our country, the one led by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang. "Do princes and dukes, generals and ministers belong to a special species?" Revolutionary cries of rage echoed across the sky and rocked the earth of our fatherland. "Rise ye from the villages of the great marshes, and all under Heaven will heed thy call!" Millions and millions of revolutionary peasants rose up, struck at the landlord class and swept away the restorationist forces of the slave owners, writing with their immortal heroic exploits a magnificent chapter in the history created by slaves.

(I)

Engels pointed out that there always is a certain social demand behind revolutionary convulsions anywhere on earth, and to find out the causes, "we should seek explanations from the general state of social affairs and living conditions in a country experiencing the tremor." ("Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany")

The Ch'in Dynasty -- a unified feudal state with centralized authority -- was set up in 221 B.C. when feudal society was still in its infancy with rather complex economic and political conditions. It was a time when the feudal economic foundation and superstructure were already dominant, but the remnants of the slave system were still making their presence felt. Society consisted mainly of three classes: the peasant class, the newly emerging landlord class, and the declining slave-owner class. The contradictions that existed between them were as intricate as the struggles waged to resolve them. The landlord class was the ruling class in this society. Opposing it from the left were the peasant masses, whose relationship with the landlord class was one between the exploiter and the exploited, a contradiction inherent in the feudalist mode of production. Opposing it from the right was the declining slave-owner class, whose contradiction with the landlord class was indicative of the conflict between two different social systems, the new-born feudal system and the decadent slave system. Only by conducting a thorough study of the moving factors behind the social contradictions and their inter-relationship during the Ch'in Dynasty can we find the key to the causes that led to the great peasant uprisings toward the end of the Ch'in Dynasty.

Ever since the slave-owner class lost hold of political power, there had been no end to its restorationist activities, as evidenced by a series of facts from the restoration program of "self-restraint and returning to propriety" advocated by Confucius to the brutal murder of the celebrated Legalist Shang Yang and Wu Ch'i by the reactionary forces, from the

counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat staged by Lü Pu-wei and Lao Ai to the clamor for a return to fiefdom under the slave system made by Wang Wan and Ch'un Yü-yueh. Ch'in Shih Huang's war of unification deprived the old aristocrats of the six states of political power, but failed to uproot their economic and political influence completely. Many of the aristocrats of the six states were big slave-owners who had been yearning all the time for a change of government. Those slave-owners having large stakes in industry and commerce went even so far as to rely on their enormous funds and operating experience to retain their dominance in certain economic sectors. Finally, there was also a band of followers of Confucius and Mencius who took pains to spread their Confucian doctrines by holding on to the old "sacrificial ceremonies" wherever they went. The struggle between the forces for the restoration of the old order and those against them was very sharp and tense indeed, showing that whenever a new social system is born to replace the old, the remannts of the previous order will continue to haunt the economic, political and ideological sectors of the new society for a very long time. That is why reactionary classes were able to carry out their restorationist activities. Only by doubling its effort in eliminating these remnant forces could the new rising class consolidate its own power.

Ch'in Shih Huang, as an outstanding statesman of the newly emerged landlord class, made great contributions to history in his struggle against the restorationist forces of the declining slave-owner class. After unifying China, he continued to carry out the Legalist line and employed the machinery of the centralized government of the landlord class to strike political blows at the slave owners by "arranging to have all the wealthy families of the country moved to new areas," "ordering all people to hand in their weapons," and "having books of the Confucian school burned and Confucianists that challenged the new order buried alive." He promulgated a decree "allowing the toiling masses to own the land they till if they report it" and "giving predominance to the cultivation of the soil while attaching least importance to merchants," so that agriculture was promoted in the interests of developing the feudal economy. On the ideological and cultural fronts, he enforced the ideological rule of the landlord class by opposing the decadent dogmas of Confucius and Mencius and upholding such reformist doctrines of the Legalist school as "the teaching of the law" and "the regarding of government officials as teachers." These new measures were in line with the demands of the historical trend that warranted the replacing of the slave system by the feudal system, and symbolized in all respects the new and lively fighting spirit found to have existed for some time in the landlord class after it succeeded in seizing power. It goes without saying that Ch'in Shih Huang deserves in his own right to be called "the immortal emperor" of feudal times.

There were, however, limitations on the part of Ch'in Shih Huang in his effort to resolve the contradictions that existed between the landlord and slave-owner classes. As a representative of the exploitation system, he could not and need not completely eliminate the remnants of the old order. On the contrary, it was to his interest to accept these remnants to reinforce the new exploitation system in some respects. Many of the old aristocrats of the six states were not spared his attack and were forced

to move, but control was not strict. The big slave-owners engaged in industry and commerce in the six states, having been forced to move to new areas, made full use of their "remaining wealth" to continue operations under the slave system and became upstarts again, "so wealthy that they had a thousand servants and lived like kings on the huge estates where they enjoyed the luxurious pleasures of game shooting." Ch'in Shih Huang at times under-estimated the complexity of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration and succumbed to a certain degree of blindness. During his tours of the country, he committed himself to suppressing the forces of restoration, but when he was making stone inscriptions to celebrate his victories, he usually drowned himself in his successes. The assassination of Po Lang-sha shocked him for a while, and he "ordered a ten-day search for the assassin throughout the empire." But when he was making a stone inscription by the sea shore, he felt free to comfort himself with the words: "No more disasters, no more war." Unfortunately, the laws of class struggle never change according to man's will. The reactionary forces, though overthrown, will always use every means to recover their lost "paradise." In 210 B.C., when Ch'in Shih Huang had just passed away, Chao Kao, a representative of the restorationist forces of the declining slave-owners hiding in the Ch'in court, launched the Shach'iu counter-revolutionary coup. The Shach'iu incident was by no means an isolated affair by chance, but was a result of sharpened contradictions between the landlord class and the slave-owner class.

"The main contradiction in feudal society is that between the peasant class and the landlord class." The struggle between the peasant and landlord classes began from the moment the two classes came into being. Up to the time of the peasant uprisings in the final year of Ch'in, contradictions between these two classes had already existed for three centuries starting from 594 B.C. when the state of Lu first introduced the "land taxation system." As Chinese society was becoming feudal in nature, such contradictions multiplied and intensified. Ch'in Shih Huang was also subject to his dual character as he set about to resolve the problems with the peasant class. Needless to say, his attack on the declining slave-owner class was a progressive step in history in the sense that it helped the peasant masses free themselves from slavery. But at the same time, he and the landlord class he represented were to the peasants no more than exploiters and oppressors. "In order to attain its aim to take the place of the old ruling class, every new class could not but define its own interests as the common interests of all society." (Marx and Engels, "German Ideology") So it is that Ch'in Shih Huang looked upon himself as one who "brought wealth to the people," "with men enjoying their work in the fields and women loving their household chores." Actually, the "wealthy" did not include the masses of poor peasants. One can learn the truth by what Ch'en Sheng once said: "I was extremely disappointed and sad when I came upon fields where people had stopped working." During the period of Shang Yang's reform, there really was a time when "people east of the mountain moved westward." When people who lived in the various feudatory states in the east moved into the state of Ch'in, that was because they were against the exploitation by the backward slave system. But such historical progress did not stop the peasants from continuing their resistance

as they freed themselves from the oppression of the slave system only to suffer from new oppression under the feudal system. As Ch'in Shih Huang unified China and following the development of feudal economy, the contradictions between the landlord class and the peasant class further intensified. "Policy is the inter-relationship between classes -- this is what decides the destiny of the Republic." (Lenin, "Tenth Congress of the RCP (B)") Lenin viewed policy problems as deciding the survival or extinction of a state. And if one makes an analysis of the policies pursued by Ch'in Shih Huang from this approach, one can easily see that, while his Legalist policies designed to attack the slave-owner class had a consolidating effect on the new-born feudal system, some of his policies toward the peasant masses aroused their discontent. When Ch'in Shih Huang was still alive, there were already instances of small-scale armed resistance, which had not yet grown into large-scale eruption.

The Shach'iu counter-revolutionary coup was a turning point at which the various social contradictions within the Ch'in Dynasty, especially those between the landlord class and the peasant class, rapidly intensified.

All restorationists of the declining slave-owner class in history invariably wished to have the clock of history turned back to the slave system of the Western Chou in one morning. The restorationist maniac Chao Kao, whose brain was filled with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, harbored an extreme hatred for the dictatorship of the newly emerging landlord class of the Ch'in Dynasty, and once power fell into his hands, he did not hesitate to throw the revolution into a bloodbath. He did all he could to instigate Ch'in Emperor II, Hu Hai, to pass new laws, to discontinue the Legalist line adopted by Ch'in Shih Huang, and to push the restorationist line of the Confucian school calling for "giving office to people in obscurity, ennobling the lowly, enriching the poor and getting close to the distant." "Criminals are pardoned," and the overthrown "people in obscurity" -- the declining slave-owners -- were brought back to power. "Ministers who served under the old emperor are removed." Legalist officials that enjoyed Ch'in Shih Huang's confidence were killed or purged without mercy. Terror spread among the people as they were forced to do uncompensated labor, taxation was increased, and severe penalties were imposed. But the political stage on which Chao Kao carried out his restorationist activities, the feudal society, had developed in a spiral form for over 300 years. "A feudal state with rival principalities" had generally been formed prior to Ch'in's unification. After a dozen years rule by the Legalist line after Ch'in Shih Huang unified China, the feudal political and economic system was generally established throughout the country. Therefore, time was needed for Chao Kao to monopolize all power and to completely change the feudal economic and political system on a nationwide basis. In particular, peasants who had just won partial freedom could not but resist strongly when they were to be dragged back to slavery. It was unlikely that the whole restorationist plot could succeed in a matter of only a few months. Owing to the fact that both the slave-owner and landlord classes were exploiting classes by nature, the restorationist forces, in pushing the line of restoration and regression, usually found it convenient to make use of the existing means of exploitation to intensify their oppression of the laboring masses and as a springboard to further

their restoration. Once Chao Kao succeeded in usurping power, he ordered the imposing of "heavy taxation and corvee," which were no more than forms of feudal exploitation. Chairman Mao wrote in the article "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" that "forcing peasants to pay taxes and to take part in non-compensatory labor service" in a landlord-class state constituted one of the major characteristics of the economic and political system of Chinese feudal society. In slave society, slaves were at best "talking tools"; they and the fruits of their labor belonged to no one but the slave-owners. As regards state power, although Chao Kao usurped the key post of secretary-general of the imperial court on the eve of the peasant revolt, Li Ssu and Feng Ch'u-chi remained as assistant prime ministers, and Feng Chieh was still the commanding general of the army. Li Yu, the elder son of Li Ssu, held vital military power as governor of three regions. Even up to 207 B.C., when Chao Kao murdered Hu Hai in an attempt to take over the reins of power and ascend the throne, there broke out in the central imperial court a wave of opposition against him. This showed that although the feudal state establishment was undergoing serious changes, it had not been radically altered. As to those reactionary policies imposed by the Chao Kao restorationist clique, especially heavy taxation and corvee, they still had to be implemented through the existing feudal political structure. In this way, the reactionary Confucianist line pushed by Chao Kao after his takeover quickened the intensification of the antagonism between the feudal state and the peasant masses. The laboring masses could not bear the hard life any longer; while "on the top" the struggle waged in the ruling circles also intensified and created an unstable situation in which the old order could not simply be carried on as before. China after the Chao Kao restorationist clique took over the reins of power was engulfed in a nationwide crisis, like firewood ready to go up in flames. The masses of people are the decisive forces in the development of social history. "All people under Heaven rose up to respond to the revolutionary call" by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang, and it didn't take long for those sparks in the fields to turn rapidly into a prairie fire as the great peasant uprising erupted to mark the last hour of the Ch'in Empire! It goes without saying that the power usurpation by Chao Kao and his enforcing a Confucianist line of restoration and regression was an important cause that led to the great peasant uprising, but the basic one lay in the intensification of the contradictions between the landlord class and the peasant class.

(II)

The peasant war that broke out during the final years of the Ch'in Dynasty played a great role in transforming and propelling society at that time.

We see from the uprising a very complicated picture of class struggle during the initial phase of feudal society. The old slave-owner aristocrats of the six states, taking advantage of the peasant rebellion staged under the slogan "the whole country has suffered long enough from Ch'in rule," raised anti-Ch'in banners of their own in every street corner. The restorationist forces of the slave-owners rose against Ch'in out of

their counter-revolutionary hatred and desire for revenge against the newly emerging landlord class. Some of them wormed their way into the ranks of the peasant insurgent forces to carry out subversive activities. Others such as the old slave-owner aristocrat T'ien Tan of the state of Ch'i who took the opportunity of "proclaiming himself King of Ch'i," malignantly dispatched troops to attack the peasant army led by Ch'en Sheng. The situation at that time was such that with the Chao Kao clique making trouble and the old slave-owner aristocrats of the six states playing the devil, the restorationist activities of slave owners could not have been more frenzied, the threat of restoration of slavery could not have been more serious. Under such complex circumstances regarding class alignments, the peasant war resembled an iron broom with which the restorationist forces of slave owners were swept away. It toppled at one stroke the Ch'in Dynasty after sweeping the Chao Kao slave-owner restorationist clique entrenched in the central government. On the basis of this great victory, Liu Pang, a leader of the peasant uprising who later became a great Legalist, going along with the historical trend brought about by the peasant war, continued to rely on the residual power of the insurgent peasants to destroy the remnants of the old aristocrats of the six states, the last of those to remain in the wake of the peasant revolutionary tide, during the war between Ch'u and Han. Small clowns who attempted to play upon the historical tide to have their past glories restored to them met with destruction one by one. T'ien Heng committed suicide, so did Hsiang Yü, the overlord of Ch'u. All this was inevitable. The peasant uprisings and the Ch'u-Han war crushed the restorationist forces of the old aristocrats of the six states as independent forces. The problems regarding the old aristocracy of the six states, which Ch'in Shih Huang failed to solve with his various measures, were thus solved more or less thoroughly through the peasant war. The peasant war also struck at the big slave owners engaged in industry and commerce, who by the time of Western Han could not but join forces with the conservatives of the big landlord class and looked to the military regime of the slave-owner aristocrats of the Huns for help in carrying out their reactionary activities for restoration, regression and national betrayal.

The revolutionary peasant masses not only cruelly wiped out the restorationist forces of the declining slave owners politically, but also lashed out violently at the reactionary and decadent doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in the ideological domain. Ch'en Sheng, an outstanding leader of the peasant revolution, was a heroic standard-bearer in the anti-Confucius struggle. The slogan he used to mobilize the uprising in his home village, Tatse -- "do princes and dukes, generals and ministers, belong to a special species?" -- was above all a militant one repudiating Confucius' idealist theory of Heavenly mandate. When the victorious situation of the peasant war developed further, it was he who stood for historical progress and national unity by refusing to name "new kings to the six states," a total rebuttal to the eighth-generation grandchild of Confucius, K'ung Fu, who used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to call for a return to fiefdom under the slave system.

Marx pointed out: "History rolls on uninterruptedly, going through many phases before sending the old forms of life to the grave." ("Introduction to "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right") During the early stages of feudal society in our country, only the heroic revolutionary peasants could be the main forces in opposing the restorationist forces of the slave-owners. The heroes of the peasant revolution during the final years of Ch'in, while fighting against the restorationist forces of the slave-owners, also bravely resisted and attacked the feudal system.

During the ascending period of the feudal mode of production, the relations of production and the development of the productive forces were basically in step with each other, but there were also certain aspects where conformity was missing. The feudal mode of production was born out of the slave society. Therefore it was only natural for feudal society during its early phase to bear the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerged economically, morally and spiritually. The Ch'in Dynasty itself maintained considerable numbers of official slaves. Also, large-scale labor services obliged a great amount of manpower to be detached from production, the development of which could not but be hindered. The possession of official slaves and the large-scale labor services were precisely what did not conform with the requirements of the times. The great peasant war on the eve of Ch'in's fall resolved part of this contradiction. It not only broke the yokes imposed on great numbers of slaves, but also dealt a heavy blow to the feudal labor service system. "If the feudal manorial lords come across peasants' pitch-forks (which is liable to happen at an appropriate time), corvee will vanish of its own accord." (Marx, "Communism of the 'Rhine Observer'") By the time Liu Pang re-united China, "order had just been restored, but most of the townfolk had dispersed, leaving behind only 12-13 percent of the population." Among "the great numbers of people who got together and hid in the mountains and marshes, revealing neither their names nor their numbers," there were many peasants who had broken away from the yoke of feudal labor service and taxation. Although the feudal rulers of the early Han did their best to have the yoke of feudal exploitation re-imposed on the peasant masses, large-scale corvee was not possible at that moment.

In feudal society, "the feudal state of the landlord class is the power organ protecting this feudal system of exploitation." During the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang, the state power of the Ch'in court was like a sharp double-edge knife -- striking at the restorationist forces of the declining slave-owners as well as safeguarding the exploitation and oppression of the peasants. After the Chao Kao restorationist clique usurped power but found it not yet possible to radically change the feudal economic and political system, the first thing it did was to intensify the feudal exploitation and oppression over the poor peasant masses by means of the existing feudal state apparatus. And this was precisely why the first peasant uprising in our history was marked by a very outstanding feature: the spearhead of attack was clearly directed at the nucleus of the feudal political system -- the feudal state machinery of landlord class dictatorship, clearly resisting and attacking all forms of feudal exploitation, corvee in particular. When Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang raised high the banner of revolution in Tatse village, "everyone within a radius of 2,000 li responded." Instances

in which people killed their local civil and military officials and petty officials executed their superiors, as recorded in "Historical Records" alone, were too numerous to mention. Confronted with the storm of the peasant uprising, the landlord class did not stand on the side of the peasants to oppose the Chao Kao restorationist clique, but taking the stand of protecting the feudal exploitation system, it favored suppressing the insurgent peasants. While it is true that certain petty officials of the local governments of the Ch'in Dynasty such as Hsiao Ho and Ts'ao Ts'an joined the peasant army, this did not suffice to explain the attitude and intentions of the landlord class as a whole. This is because in all large-scale resistance struggle by the toiling masses in history, there were some members of the exploiting classes who either out of betrayal of their own class or because of various personal reasons went over to the side of the revolution, and the key to the question is to make an analysis of the attitude of the entire class, especially that of its power-holders. Even while the Legalist Li Ssu was imprisoned and presented a petition to expose Chao Kao, he was still worried that "the bandits might reach Hsien-yang" and the rule of Ch'in Emperor II might be disturbed. Even at the critical moment when the sinister Chao Kao restorationist clique was ready to strike at his family, his elder son Li Yu was still bloodily suppressing the peasant uprising and was killed by the revolutionary peasants on the battlefield. Most civil officials and generals of Ch'in adopted a hostile attitude toward the revolutionary peasants. From Chang Han's about-face to Fan Yang-ling's surrender, none laid down his arms until driven into a corner and left no other alternative. Among these persons, Tzu Ying was a noteworthy figure. He opposed Hu Hai killing the Legalist generals Meng T'ien and Meng I, and pointed out sharply: "If we kill loyal officials and appoint wicked people, we will only lose the confidence of other officials and demoralize the army!" He disliked Chao Kao for pushing the Confucianist line of restoration. And it was he who saw through Chao Kao's sinister tricks of letting others rule after killing Ch'in Emperor II while actually leaving central power to himself. So, he devised a plot to have Chao Kao, the culprit of this restorationist clique, executed. But even a representative of the landlord class as notable as Tzu Ying, on taking power, still directed his army to continue to resist the peasant revolution. Hence, after the fall of Chao Kao, the peasant army did not stop but continued to march forward, finally capturing Hsienyang and forcing Tzu Ying to surrender, holding the imperial seal in his hand. In this way, the heroes of China's first peasant uprising engraved their militant spirit of opposing feudalism without compromise in the shining records of revolutionary history.

Summing up the above, we can see that the first peasant war in our history, while striking at the feudal system, swept away the remnants of the slave system and shook the entire social structure of the early phase of feudal society, thereby pushing the feudal society toward a higher stage of transformation and development. It was along this road opened up by the peasant war that for several generations Legalist statesmen of the early Han rode the tide of history and made new contributions by continuing Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line.

(III)

In the history of feudal society in our country, the great peasant uprising that erupted in the final years of Ch'in was like the first clap of spring thunder proclaiming that the oppressed peasants had in large strides mounted the political stage in full battle array. This struggle of revolutionary peasants left us valuable experience and enlightenment.

First, where there is oppression, there is resistance. Marxism teaches us: "The whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of the primitive tribal system, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes." (Engels, "Preface to the 1888 English Edition of 'Communist Manifesto'") The experience gained through the peasant uprising in the final years of Ch'in shows that owing to the contradictions inherent in the feudal mode of production, there were always contradictions between the landlord class and the peasant class. The peasant war was but the highest form of such struggle. Where there is exploitation, there is resistance; where there is oppression, there is struggle. This is the universal law of class struggle. Even while the feudal society was in its ascendancy, the interests of the landlord class and those of the peasant class were irreconcilable. The revolutionary struggles carried out by the peasant class brought about a partial resolution to the contradictions that existed in feudal society between the productive forces and the relations of production, and between the base and the superstructure. The peasant wars in different periods had their own epochal characteristics. In view of prevailing historical conditions, the peasant war that flared up in the final years of Ch'in shouldered the great historical task of opposing slave-owners restoration. The revolutionary peasants rose up against restoration out of their own class interests. They did not oppose slavery and supported feudal exploitation; they did not oppose the dictatorship of slave-owners and supported the dictatorship of the landlord class. Their aim was to establish a peasant regime through struggle in opposition to feudal oppression and the restoration of the slave system, so as to push society forward.

Second, the masses of people are the main forces against restoration and regression. All counter-revolutionary careerists conspiring to usurp state power and have the old order restored would always usurp military power before anything else. At the time of the Shach'iu coup d'etat, Chao Kao, while having Fu Su killed by forging an imperial order, deprived Meng T'ien of military power. But Meng I still had troops under his command. That the troops were held in the hands of generals loyal to the Legalist line posed a threat to Chao Kao, the ringleader of the restorationists. Chao Kao was wary day and night, and uneasily he said to Hu Hai: "Meng T'ien is dead, but Meng I still has troops out there. I'm afraid Your Majesty's end is near, and I tremble with fear at the very thought of it." Finally, he had Meng I killed on a pretext. Chao Kao made use of counter-revolutionary violence to slaughter officials at all levels that followed the Legalist line while madly suppressing the laboring people. Faced with Chao Kao's bloody massacre and suppression, the Legalist figures of the newly emerging landlord class revealed the

weakness and compromising nature of the exploiting class. It was the peasants who really solved the problem. Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang, being the first to rebel, crushed Chao Kao's counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence in less than three years, thus breaking their restorationist line. Historical experience proves that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive power in the making of world history." At all times the masses of people want revolution, and the rule of restorationists cannot last long. The socialist revolution is the greatest transformation in the history of mankind. In a socialist society such as ours, the broad masses of people, led by the Party and keeping to the socialist road, are consciously making new history. We must bear the Party's basic line in mind, rely on the masses, give full scope to the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main forces, and strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Third, an important assurance for the victory of the revolution is to persist in unity and oppose division. Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang were not only outstanding leaders of the peasant war waged during the last years of Ch'in, but also peasant heroes of high renown in Chinese history. They took the lead in stirring up the storm of peasant revolution and performed immortal historic exploits, but the peasant insurgent force they led failed only six months after it came into being. From their defeat, a very important experience may be gained: To stick to unity and oppose division is an important assurance for the victory of the revolution. When revolutionary unity is sabotaged, there will be setbacks in the struggle. And this was a weakness that was revealed by the peasant army led by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang from the very start. When Ko Ying, a general of the insurgent army, led his troops and reached the eastern capital, he took it upon himself to name Hsiang Chiang the king of Ch'u, and that was of course a mistake. But when he heard that Ch'en Sheng had established a peasant government, he immediately had Hsiang Chiang executed and admitted to Ch'en Sheng his mistake and expressed his determination to make amends. Ch'en Sheng, however, still put him to death. When Wu Kuang led an army to attack Yingyang but failed to take it after repeated attempts, T'ien Tsang, a general under Ch'en Sheng, had him killed by a false order. Ch'en Sheng did not deal seriously with this act which gravely undermined revolutionary discipline and unity; instead, he promoted T'ien Tsang to be senior general, a decision that harmed the solidarity of the revolutionary ranks. Meanwhile, the restorationist forces that had penetrated into the peasant army took the opportunity to step up their disruptive activities. Chang Erh and Ch'en Yü, having failed in their plot to persuade Ch'en Sheng to "re-establish the six states," set about corrupting Ch'en Sheng's deputies and eventually pulled him down, making him proclaim himself king on the land he seized. As a result, the insurgent forces were destroyed one by one. This is truly a very profound historical lesson.

More than two thousand years have elapsed since the spectacular peasant war took place during the final years of Ch'in. But the revolutionary spirit of the vast numbers of peasant heroes rising up to rebel, their glorious fighting tradition, their resolute struggle against Confucianism, and their road of setting up a peasant government through armed

struggle set a brilliant example for the revolutionary people over hundreds of years in waging struggle of resistance. Even to this day, what they did is still inspiring us to carry on the struggle to eliminate all systems of exploitation and to oppose restoration of exploiting classes and carry it through to the end!

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Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/

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